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TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA-

LETTER XII.

Gilded Ropes of Serpentine River Fleet.—
Alien Bill.—Bank Paper-money Law.
—The Pope's declaration against Protestants.—Schemes of the Canadian Speculators to excite jealousy of America.

Botley, 11th May, 1816.

In Number 17, I mentioned, that a gentleman in Sussex had informed me, that he had forwarded to me some of the Gilded Ropes, used in the ships which composed the famous English Fleet that so gloriously triumphed over that of your country, on the Serpentine River, in Hyde Park, London, in 1814. The Ropes, or, rather, the Rope, is come to hand. It appears to have composed part of a Cable, for it is of considerable thickness. When we have looked and laughed at it at Botley, 'til we are tired, I will certainly ship it off for America, where the people have as good a right to view it, as the Londoners had to view the hat of Napoleon, and other of his trinkets, said to have been taken at. Waterloo. If the whole be not seized on as Naval Stores, I shall, perhaps, send a little bit of it to be kept as a relic by the Cossack Priesthood. Considering its origin, it must have a great charm in it, in the eyes of those gentlemen. I will assuredly send some of the gilding to my friend the wise Mr. John Randolph of Virginia. The gold on it is not solid enough for the men of "Steady Habits," who are acquainted with Captain Henry. I am aware, that nothing short of sterling will go down with them. Part of the Rope, being untwisted, forms distinct cords of very convenient length and strength. These shall be respectfully presented to Mr. Goodloe Harper, Governor Strong, and the Members of the Hartford Convention.

In No. 16, at page 482, I discussed the subject of the intended Bill to protect the Bank against demands in cash for two years longer, after it had been so protected for 19 years. This matter has since

been discussed in the House of Commons, and the measure has, of course, been carried. I can add nothing of my own upon this subject. It was made as clear as daylight, I hope, in the Number just referred to. But, it is proper to state here, as briefly as I can, the substance, at least, of what passed in the House, on this occasion. I have pledged myself to keep you informed of what this government is at; what its views and intentions are, as nearly as I can; and, of all its measures, those are the most important which relate to the paper money; because, upon this great pivot every thing turns. If this government can revive the activity of the paper system, it will be powerful as long as that activity lasts. If it cannot revive it; or cannot keep up the activity of it, it will itself become feeble, in spite of every other means that it can invent. If it become feeble it will lose power in every department. You will soon hear the language of the people change. Influence ceasing to operate so widely, timidity and delusion will also have been diminished. This is, therefore, a matter of the greatest consequence; and these considerations induce me to call your attention now, not to any thing new, but to the avowals, the confessions, now made in the House of Commons itself.

Mr. Horner, (Member for the famous St. Mawes,) of whom I spoke to you more particularly the other day, in a Note, opposed the Bill, as I informed you he would. He said, that the introduction of the Bill had surprised him and the whole country; that he now doubted the sincerity of the Ministers in their desire to return to cash payments; that the House had been told of the desire of the Bank to pay, till the gravity of the Members could no longer bear it; that it was clear that the renewal of the law to protect the Bank was connected with the lending of paper to the government by the Bank; that the paper had been greatly reduced in quantity last year; that this was one great cause of the fall of prices; that we had borrowed money in a paper of small value, and had now to pay the interest in a paper of high value; that this " was the most " formidable evil that threatened our finan.

" opinion of the resources of the country, is a thousand times more monstrous. What! and of the wisdom of the government, is Mr. Horner appalled, now, when he " to despair, he was appalled when he compares the amount of the interest of the " considered the immense amount of the " interest of the Debt, contracted in that " artificial currency, compared with the produce of the taxes." It is useless to repeat any more of his words, seeing that he only repeated mine, which you have heard so many times over. concluded by saying, that, if the Bill passed, "he had no hesitation in say-" ing, that the Bank would never pay in specie again." The Bill will pass.

Mr. P GHANT said, that this was a sys-

tem by which to carry on the financial operations of the country, through the medium of accommodations from the Bank; and, Mr. MARRYAT " considered the thing as a " great and powerful engine, in the hands " of the ministers, to alter the property of " the country at their discretion." This, you know, is what I have said a hundred times over. Mr. MARRYAT compared it to a necromancer's wand, in the hands of the Ministers. He did not like to compare it to the cock of a barrel, shutting in, or letting out, the paper at pleasure. He would have thought it plagiarism to repeat my very figures, as well as my opinions.

But, suffer me, if you please, to "bother" Mr. HORNER a little, once more, upon this subject. He acknowledges, that the enormous Debt has been chiefly contracted in a paper of small value, and that the interest is now paying in paper of a high value. He says, that this is a formidable evil. He acknowledges that he is appalled at the amount of the interest of the Debt, when compared with the amount of the taxes. And yet, what does he propose? Why, to make the Bank pay in specie, which even idiots must know would lower prices and diminish the nominal amount of the taxes. What does he mean, then? He complains, that we have now to pay the interest in a paper of higher value than that in which we made the loans; and yet, he would make us pay the interest in specie! He says, that the project of feeding the country with paper, in order to raise prices, and thus enable the people to pay large sums in taxes, is the "most monstrous project " that has ever been imagined," and so will say Lord Grenville, perhaps. But,

ces, and though he had too high an forty, millions of taxes a year in specie, Debt with the amount of the taxes; and, yet, is he not appalled at the thought of a measure, which must cause a great reduction in the amount of those taxes? The tax payers are ruined, he says, by paying in a paper of high value; and yet, he would make them pay in specie! In short, is it not as clear as the sun at noon-day, that to re-open the flood-gates of paper money is the way, and the only way, to remove the ground of Mr. Horner's complaint? Unless, indeed, he wishes to see the interest of the Debt reduced; and, then, good-bye to the System. But, this is what he never so much as hints at. He wants the system to stand; he wants a gold circulation and sixty millions of taxes too. He does not despair, because the government is wise, prudent, and benevo-These qualities of this government, however, though so manifest to Mr. Horner, do not appear to me sufficient to make the country pay sixty millions of taxes in gold and silver.

The close of a subsequent debate was curious. It was moved by the opposition to insert the words "no longer" after two years. This was opposed, and by a Bank Director too, and lost upon a division. At last, Mr. Horner said, that "all this was "perfectly understood." Yes, to be sure, and so it was by me and my readers a great many years ago. More than ten years ago, I said what is now asserted, or not denied, in every part of the House. To talk of paying in SPECIE, without reducing the interest of the Debt more than one half, is absolute folly. It is something so absurd, that one cannot hear it seriously proposed with any degree of patience.

Thus, then, we close this discussion. We have now seen, that the thing has, thus far, gone on just as I have always predicted. How it will now operate; how it will work; what are the shapes in which this new mode of raising money at once from the Bank; or, in other words, the issuing of government paper; that is to say, paper made by the government itself; for, as to any property, upon the security of which the paper is now issued, that is a sheer farce. The Bank and the Treasutet me assure Mr. HORNER, that the project ry are now one and the same body, only of making this country pay sixty, or even different members. The Bank makes the

assignats without security. There will be, it is said, no loan this year. Why need there be any? The corrupt thing will, in all probability, be now managed upon a new principle. There will be a pretended borrowing from the Bank; the Bank will get Exchequer Bills in exchange for their paper; these Bills will, after a while, be funded; thus will the debt and its interest keep on growing, until something or other will arise that will blow up the whole fabric, and astonish millions of ruined, and hitherto credulous, people. What are the shapes, in which the effects of this species of traffick will discover themselves, is more than I can say; but, as to the final consequence, there can, I think, be very few persons, indeed, who take time to reflect, who can have the

smallest doubt remaining in their minds. It is a great subject. The whole world ought to have their eyes fixed upon this grand paper engine; for, the thing is now, at this very moment, at work to produce wonderful events. It has been the cause, and the only cause, of keeping in check, or beating down, the spirit of freedom in It has been the cause, and the only cause, of the restoration of the old governments, the Pope, and all the rest. It has been the cause, and the only cause, of all the plunderings and murders in France, since the restoration of the Bourbons. It has bribed the catholics to cut the throats of the protestants; it has rekindled the fires of the Inquisition; it has drenched Ireland with blood; it has subjugated and lashed millions of men in India; it has reduced the people of England themselves to a state of misery and pauperism; it has attempted to enslave America, and has plundered and butchered many of her people. In short, it is the scourge, and the axe, and the torch, in the hands of a set of merciless men, called Ministers, selected and supported by a band of Boroughmongers, who have usurped the rights and grasped the power of a most industrious, persevering, and brave, but deluded and misguided, people. It has been, and yet is, a curse to the earth; and, therefore, every symptom, with regard to its probable duration, is of importance. It is quite in vain to look for the continue to furnish us with money. cause of any material change in any other quarter. Some accident may possibly here, that the Pore has issued a document give rise to a great change; but, the chap- of some sort, declaring, " that the to'era-

paper, and the Treasury issues it. It is | ter of accidents is nothing to calculate on. Have your eyes, therefore, upon this grand paper engine. It is wonderfully enfeebled of late. It is now much better understood even by this credulous and deluded people. This last measure, though it has not ' surprised" any body, except Mr. Horner, has set many persons to thinking, who appear never to have thought upon the subject before. If we have but five or six years of peace, we shall see good days yet.

In my last I gave you some information about the peace Alien Bill. Since that letter was written, the Bill has passed through another stage. Sir Samuel Ro-MILLY has moved for a return of the Aliens, who have been sent out of the country at the request of foreign ministers. You will easily see the drift of this. The motion was, however, rejected by a large majority. Now, observe; Sir Samuel Romil-LY, who is an eminent, an able, and a most upright lawyer, (which is a very rare thing in England,) said : " He knew that indi-" viduals were sent off on grounds not at " all connected with danger to the country " apprehended from them. A cause happened to be referred to his arbitration " between two foreigners. One of his " Majesty's Ministers, he would rather " not mention his name, as he was now " dead; took a strong interest in one of " them. In the course of the business " one of them was found to have miscon-" ducted himself. The Noble Lord to " whom he had alluded, said that was a " person who ought to be sent out of the " country on the Alien Bill." This you will easily comprehend. One of the Ministers "took a strong interest in one of " the parties," and the other was sent out of the country for having misconducted himself even while his cause was pending before an arbitrator! I should not have revived this subject, having so fully discussed it before; but, this fact, coming from such a person, and stated in such a place, is worth a hundred arguments. No more need be said about the Alien Act. You have only to bear in mind, that this act makes part of the laws under which we now live, and under which we shall live as long as the Bank of England shall

It has been stated, in the public prints

" tion of several religions is contrary to " the principles of the Catholic Church;" and, of course, that such toleration ought to be put an end to. This may, very likely, be a first step towards an expulsion of the protestants from France, a measure that ought to surprise nobody and, I do not know that it ought to excite much regret, seeing that it would inevitably send some of the best and most useful people of France to your country, where they would add to the forces of the cause of freedom. Tyranny will do nothing, at last, unless it can overturn your freedom. It must be strangely puzzled and vexed. If it do not persecute with a vigorous hand, it will be speedily assailed by its to America, and become its enemies in that country. Tyranny is more puzzled than it ever was before. There can be no doubt that this government is at work with all the means within its long-armed reach, to foment discontents in France of every sort, and especially about religion. I have heard of people of high rank, who have given, as a toast, " a religious civil war in France." The ground of this horrid wish is, the fear of French prosperity, and more particularly of French liberty. During the first restoration of the Bourbons, the manufacturers were flocking from England to France. Artisans in hundreds went thither. It is well known how many people of fortune went. Therefore, the wish is, now, to destroy the very sources of French prosperity and happiness. But, the dread of there existing any thing like liberty in France, is still more powerful. It would be impossible for the thing to remain here, if the French For these reasons I am of were free. opinion, that this government will do every thing that it can, to cause a general persecution of the protestants in France, and should not be at all surprised if it were to " the Bulwark" that this Declaration of the Pope ought to be ascribed. The Pope, Ferdinand, and Louis, all hold their power in virtue of the support of this government; and are upheld by no other prop whatever. Is it, therefore, at all probable, that the Pope would have issued such a declaration, if it had not been approved of here? Is it probable, that Louis would not have punished the murderers of the protestants, if he had been ordered to do it by Wel-

lington? It is likely enough, that Louis approves of the persecutions, and is quite ready to adopt the measure of general expulsion; for, what cares he about the prosperity or happiness of France? All that he wants is to reign, and live in splendour with his family. He knows very well, that he owes his being king to the presence of the allies, and that those allies are paid by this government. He and his Royalists can have no sense of honour; or, they would have died a thousand deaths, rather than have submitted to the disgrace that they have so long lived under. There can be no doubt that such people would utterly depopulate France for the sake of enjoying ease and riches, if they could abject slaves; if it do, the slaves will go enjoy them by no other means. So that the Bourbons, the Royalists, and the English government are all of a mind, and have all one common interest as to this matter. It is the interest of them all to pull down and impoverish the French nation. One of the most effectual means of doing this would be to expel the protestants generally, and to restore the bomish religion with its priests, tithes, monks, and con-The work is really going on, and vents. I should not be at all surprised, if this declaration of the Pope was the act of the English Ministers, who have emissaries and bribers all over the world.

In the mean while, here is another-little rap on the knuckles for Parsons Channing and Parish. If, when they were snuffling out their blasphemous thanksgivings for the European restoration, some one had stepped to them and caught them by the ear, and, giving them a good sharp twitch, said: "Silence, you canting hypocrites! "Leave off your trash; for, in less than "two years, this restoration, that you are " thanking God for, will cause the pro-" testants of France to be hunted like Ma-" roons, shot, stabbed, and burnt; it will " cause all the liberty of conscience, gain-" ed during the last twenty years, to be " utterly destroyed; it will make him, " who, as you used to tell us, was the " whore of Babylon, as powerful as ever; ' it will enable the 'Scarlet Whore' " again to get 'drunk with the blood of "the saints.' Come down, then, you "hypocrites, and leave off your base at-" tempts to delude your congregations!" If some one had saluted the Reverend Cossacks in this manner, what an outcry

Yet, he would have been correct in his predictions.

This new age of persecution may, however, be a good. The religion-people have, in all the countries of Europe, been most on the side of tyranny. Priests of all sorts have thought, or have seemed to think, tyranny better for them than free government would be; that is to say, government in which the people have their due weight. Liberty has had no bitterer enemies than the dissenting priests in general. The Methodists, in England, are the very pink of loyalty. These new pranks of the Bourbons and the Pope stagger loyal cant exceedingly. It does not know what to say. It is very angry with the Bourbons and the Pope for disgracing the cause; but, still, it dares not say much against them, for fear of the just retort of having preached and prayed for twenty years against the Jacobins, who never meddled with any body's religion.

These events will keep working on, 'til they have made all men see what Cossack Priests really are. It has long been manifest to every man with eyes open, that the Cossack Priests had no regard for religion; that they followed it as a calling to get money by; that they railed against the Scarlet Whore of Babylon, in order to cry up their own particular branch; that they had no regard for those souls which they appeared to be so anxious about; that, in short, it was the profits of preaching and praying which alone they looked to. But, now, these facts must be evident to all the world. There is now no man that can avoid seeing them. So that the Cossack Priests will, in the end, have lost weight by the restoration of despotism and persecution. The new doctrine, which they broached, that any religion was better than none, was very suspicious. There are very few persons of forty years of age, who have not, before the French Revolution, heard protestant priests solemnly declare, that the Romish Church taught idolatry; that its doctrines

there would have been set up against him! | were damnable; that its effect on mankind was to make them commit robbery and murder without remorse. This is notorious. Nay, this and much more, against the Romish Church, is to be found in the books, in the printed sermons, and other books of the most esteemed protestant priests. Well, now, what can be worse than damnable doctrines? What can be worse, in practice, than that which makes men commit robbery and murder without remorse? Have the Cossack Priests been able to find out crimes more atrocious than robbery and murder? Have they discovered something more calamitous than being damned? If they have not, it follows, of necessity, that they uttered a falsehood, when they said that any religion was better than none; or, that they were guilty of very infamous calumny, when they described the doctrine and effects of the Catholic religion. They are in a cleft stick.

The sweet howl, which they set up against the French Revolution, was not because it was hostile to Religion, but because it was hostile to Priests; not because it laughed at the Bible, but because it abolished Tithes and Fees. "Oh, ho!" said they "here is an attack upon Chris-" tianity." What! has Christianity any thing damnable in it? Does Christianity induce men to commit robbery and murder without remorse? "Ay, ay," said they, " no matter for that: any religion is better "than none." Well! but, good Cossacks, hear us a little, said the Jacobins. We do not meddle with people's consciences. They may follow any religion they please; only, for our parts, we are resolved not to pay to Priests of any sort. "Oh! you heathen! Oh! you infidels! "Oh! you blasphemous wretches!" Well! but, gentle Cossacks; preachers of meekness and self-denial, whose kingdom is not of this world; you who have, all your lives, been railing against Anti-Christ, do you blame us for driving out those hordes of Priests and Monks, who were the battalions of Anti-Christ? "Yes; for any

" religion is better than none." What, then, is the religion of Anti-Christ better than no religion at all? Is it to be against Christianity to put down Anti-Christ? Is it better to be for Anti-Christ than to take no part in the dispute?

But, you artful hypocrites, you made your hearers believe, that it was for religion that you were anxious, while you were alarmed only for your trade and your pay. "Any religion is better than " none." What, then, is it better to believe falsehood than to have no belief? Is a poisoned bowl better than no drink at all? If men in general could but see your conduct in its true light, how soon would you be compelled to work for your bread! You are, however, reduced to silence. You are no longer talkative and bold. Why do you not answer? One would think that I must have stung you to the flesh before now, if your skin had been as thick as ten bull hides. Do you think, that the old cant will still carry you along? Is there not in all your thousands one man to take up his pen in your defence? Will no press give circulation to an answer? Send it to me in manuscript, and I will, at my own expense, have it printed and published.

Leaving the Cossack Priests, and the Pope, and the Bourbons, and the Bulwark, for the present, let me call your attention to a curious article in one of our newspapers, relative to the Mississippi and Missouri. It is in these words, in the Morning Chronicle of the 6th of May: " The bill for adding a new Province, In-" diana, to the Union, has passed through " the American House of Assembly. The " DESIGNS of the States upon the great " rivers Mississippi and Missouri are "BECOMING EVERY DAY MORE " APPARENT."

Now, who would not suppose, that the United States were here suspected of ambitious projects of invasion, or, at least, of unwarrantable aggrandizement? Who would suppose, that the territory here

longing to the United States as Hampshire is belonging to England? What would any one think of a writer, in an American paper, who should say, that the DESIGNS of England upon the rivers Severn and Medway, were becoming every day more apparent? One would say, that the man was a fool; and, perhaps, the observation might not be wholly inapplicable to the newspaper proprietor in this instance; but, I will engage, that the man, who has sent this paragraph to Mr. Penny, is no fool. He knows very well what he is at. He is some Canadian speculator, or, rather. Scots speculator in Canada, of which description of persons Mr Perry appears always to have one, or more, at his elbow.

I do not accuse Mr. Perry of any evil design; but, I am sure, that his publications about Canada, and the boundaries, are calculated to do a great deal of mischief. They are calculated, and, by the suggesters, or authors of them, intended, to do mischief. These persons, who may be very worthy men, however, in other respects, want to carry on their traffick with the Indians within the boundaries of the United States; and, for this purpose, of importance to them, but of no earthly importance to this nation, would they plunge us into a war, and make us, if they could, push it on to the amount of five hundred millions more of Debt! This nation has no interest in the keeping of Canada; and, is it, then, to be plunged into a war for the sake of asserting the right of a Company of Fur Dealers to traffick with a band or two of Indians? Were it really a right; and did the honour of our country demand the assertion of it, I would be the last man to give it up. But, we have no more right on the banks of the Mississippi or the Missouri, than we have on those of the Danube.

Yet do I verily believe, that the famous sine qua non arose entirely out of the suggestions of the Canada Fur Dealers. It is notorious, that we insisted upon America's giving up a great part of her territospoken of, and alluded to, is as much be- ry; that territory lies in the countries

here spoken of. It is notorious, that we insisted on prohibiting the United States from purchasing territory of the Indians in the same quarter. It is notorious, that, after suffering the signal defeats of Lake Champlain and New-Orleans, subsequent to the date of the sine qua non, and expending about thirty millions of money, to say nothing of the lives lost; it is notorious, that, after the Fur Dealers' sine qua non had cost us all this loss of money and of military and naval character, we had to submit to the deep disgrace of having abandoned the sine qua non. What trifling and contemptible instruments often produce enormous mischief!

The language of this paragraph of Mr. Perry shows, to me, its source. The word " Province" is made use of instead of " State." Indiana is a new State, just admitted into the Union, the Constitution baving provided, that, as soon as any new territory shall have a population of 70,000 people, it shall be admitted into the Union as a State. Thus, though there were only thirteen States, when America became independent there are now eighteen, or ninetcen. Indiana is a beautiful country, several hundred miles from the Atlantic coast; and, yet, it is here called a Province. Then the paragraph says that the American " Assembly" are passing a Bill. It is the Congress, as you know, as we'll as I do. In short, you will plainly perceive, that this is a Fur-Dealing paragraph; and, you may be assured, that the intention of it is, to excite a jealousy in this war-loving, dominion-grasping nation against you. "The DESIGNS of the States." As if your government were about to invade some territory belonging to us! Three thousand miles of sea, and a thousand miles of land are nothing in bar of our claims! What impudence, and what folly! but, especially, what impudence, to think of crossing three thousand miles of sea, and then traversing a thousand miles over a country wholly independent of us, there to find, in the

heart of that country, territory to claim and to fight for!

Still, however, as to us, as to the nation, who have to pay for all these war projects of Fur adventurers and East-India adventurers, the folly exceeds even the impudence. I defy any man living to show, that it is possible for England to derive, in any way whatever, any advantage from the possession of Canada. It can afford her no aid in case of war on the ocean; it has been proved, that it can do nothing for her West-India Colonies; it can yield no revenue; the manufacturers sent thither, and the Furs sent home, do not yield a gain amounting to a ten thousandth part of the cost of keeping up a Colonial Government, and an army in the Colony. It can only serve for the purpose of creating grounds of quarrel and of war with the United States, against whose militia it is utterly unable to defend itself for a summer month. It must always have a great army from England, in case of war; and not a small one in time of peace; while the United States can safely hold all it can muster in utter contempt.

For what, then, except for the purposes of putronage, can such a country be held as a Colony of England? To be sure, Captain HENRY, the spy and corrupter, did set out from Canada on his embassy to New-England. But, then, our Ministers most solemnly disclaimed any knowledge of that mission; and, all the world knows, that they would not solemnly assert a wilful falsehood. There may be use in holding Nova Scotia, for the sake of the seaports; but Canada cannot possibly be of any use at all to this nation. Yet, how many millions has it wrung from the hard hands of English industry ! · How many thousands of people has it placed on the list of paupers! One ship upon the Lakes, which ship has never been used, did, I believe, cost more than a million of money. If there be another war, she has been built only to be taken, the Americans being, at this hour, provided with a contrary is really the fact, I most anxcomplete superiority of force; and, if there be no war for a great many years, the money, the sweat of the English people, to the amount of a million of money, is sunk in the Lakes for ever. Perhaps the building of this very ship has sent a thousand of the people of England to the pauper-list, and broken a hundred farmers and tradesmen.

Mr. Curwen, who owes the nation something for past errors, might partly repay it for his bill of 1809, by moving for an inquiry into the state and costs of this Colony; and especially into its cost at this moment. Nobody will do it better, if he will but set about it with resolution, and listen to the suggestions and flatteries of neither ministers nor placemen. But, the great mischief of Canada is, that it has been, and will be, as long as it is in our possession, the fertile source of quarrels with the United States, with whom it is so much our interest to live at peace and cordial friendship; and which peace and friendship never can be of long duration, while Canada is retained by us, or while we intermeddle in its affairs.

In such cases, too, there is always a strong body of interested persons to mislead the government at home. Persons who have got lands and settlements on the frontiers of the Province; persons who have trading concerns with the Indians. There have been, doubtless, faults on your side as well as on ours; but, humanity shudders at the deeds which have been committed by the savages; and more especially when those deeds are known to have proceeded from the instigation of civilized nations; nations of common origin too, speaking the same language, and whose mutual interests dictate a precisely different line of conduct. If, indeed, the independence, the safety, the tranquillity, or the honour, of England, were concerned; if the possession of Canada were necessary to any of these, it ought to be retained; but, as the

iously hope to see it abandoned.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The paper money begins to work in the recruiting of the spirits of John Bull. The wheat, which, two months ago, sold at 6s. a bushel, now sells at very nearly 12s. a bushel! The moment the Bank Bill was proposed, the rise began; and I expect to see wheat 15s. a bushel in a month or two. It may fall again, perhaps, after harvest; but, at this price, on an average of years, it must remain; or, the interest of the Debt cannot be paid. Many of the farmers, indeed all the small and poorer farmers, feel additional suffering from this rise. They have sold their corn long ago. They have to buy, for seed of oats and barley, dearer than they sold. Some of them have not the means of buying. The rich, who have been able to keep their corn, will be richer still. So that here is an effect the most injurious and distressing that can be imagined; and, indeed, the most unfair and unjust. What must the state of that country be, where thousands upon thousands of industrious farmers and tradesmen, persons of property, too, without any fault of their own, without any of those accidents commonly called misfortunes, but merely by the operation of a measure of the government, may, in any six months, of any year, be plunged into a state of pauperism? This is really and literally our case. However, for the present, this new supply of paper money will produce a quieting effect. The landlords will be satisfied. The tenants and tradesmen will begin to hope again. We shall see few more petitions about econo-John Bull's maw being again crammed with paper, he will stagger along without bellowing and roaring. The Ministers were great fools (in their view of things) not to send out the paper five months ago. If they had done that, and had done it in good style, they would have carried the Income Tax even at ten per

centum. They were deceived by their underlings. The Ministers wished to return to gold and silver money. They wished to be able to collect the taxes in a currency of high value. They were, accordingly, by their underlings, who always " prophesy smooth things," told that the thing could be done. The real state of the country was disguised from them. But, when they were told by those who had all along supported them, that they must quit them, or give up their estates, they saw that more paper money, or that a diminution of Civil List and Salaries, and public pay of all sorts, and a diminution of the interest of the Debt, must take place, or, that they must turn out of the ministry. The two latter were not to be thought of; and, of course, fresh supplies of paper were resorted to. But, only think of the effects of this sudden change upon all ranks and descriptions of people. An estate, sold in February, or even early in March, will now be paid for in a currency of vastly inferior value to that in which the bargain was made. A debt contracted in February will now be paid in the same way. Wages, agreed for last Michaelmas, will now be paid to not more, perhaps, than half the amount agreed for. Even day-labourers will suffer very much indeed. Our labourers at Botley have been, for some time, receiving about 18 or 20 pence a day. That is to say, the price of a bushel of flour in a week. Their wages will not now purchase much more than half a bushel; yet it will be some weeks, perhaps two months, or more, before they will obtain a rise of day-wages. In the mean while they must be halfstarved, or go to the parish; and thus a new batch of paupers will be created. But, it is endless to describe the evils, the injustice, the cruelty, the curses, of such a system. And, just at this very moment, comes the news, that you have passed a law to establish a National Bank!

THE AMERICAN PACKET.

No. III.

Botley, 11th May, 1816.

MY DEAR JOHN BULL,

In the first No. I gave you an outline of the Political Parties in America. I said, that the Aristocrats, who have been the friends of our government, were called Federalists, and, that the stanch friends of freedom were called Republicans. But, you will observe, that it is, in fact, only a small portion of the Federalists who are of the Aristocratic clan, and who really are friends of the English government. Both parties are, in reality, republicans to the backbone. They love their country and their government. The contest between the two parties is a contest for power; and such a contest, so long as there is nothing base and sordid in it, so long as it is not plunder, so long as it is not public robbery, that is in view, has nothing hurtful about it. But, amongst the Federalists, there have grown up some men, who appear to have abandoned every good political principle. Such are the men of which the Hartford Convention. was composed. These persons have, as far as they have been able, allied themselves with all the enemies of freedom in Their hostility has not been Europe. against this or that measure of their government; but against the principles of the government. One of the Priests in New-England, openly declared in a sermon, that the English monarchy was preferable to the government of America. These men set on foot processions and thanksgivings, when the news arrived of the entrance of the Cossacks into Paris, and of the restoration of the Bourbons. Hence they have been called the Cossacks, which is the name that I shall always make use of, when I am speaking of the Aristocratic faction in America; for it would be most unjust to confound such men as Mr. Ru-FUS KING, for instance, with such men as Mr. Otis.

To such a length did the Cossacks carry their passion for Royal government, that, upon the occasion just alluded to, a priest, or parson, at Boston, of the name of Channing, put up the following thanksgiving.

"Most holy, most merciful God! Thine "was the work; thine be the glory! The sceptre of France is now wielded again by a benignant sovereign, who will heal her wounds."

"Europe, then, is free! Most trans"porting deliverance!"

"Europe now flies for shelter and peace to the pure and mild principles of christianity."

"The old and revered institutions of Europe are restored."

"Thrones and governments, which had dendured for ages, were overturned," but "they are now re-established."

Do not your fingers itch, reader, to seize the Reverend hypocrite, and tumble him headlong from his pulpit! What a scandal to the town of Boston, (formerly the seat of the elect of freemen,) that such an impious farce should have been acted in its precincts! The joy of the Cossacks was in proportion to the sorrow of the rest of the Americans, who, though they were as far as the friends of freedom in England were from approving of many of the deeds of Napoleon, saw in his fall, the restoration of all the old despotisms and persecutions in Europe, and who, therefore, deeply lamented that fall. As these enlightened friends of freedom apprehended, so it turned out; and we had very soon to record the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, the Dominicans, and the Inquisition. These instruments of "the mild and pure " principles of christianity" having returned into power and operation, the blood of Protestants began to flow. The consequence of the fall of Napoleon; the terrible acts which have been committed against civil and religious liberty, have, as it was natural to expect they would, produced a great sensation in America; and,

To such a length did the Cossacks car- as was also natural, has made the Cossack their passion for Royal government, faction hang their heads.

This faction are now reminded of their rejoicings and their thanksgivings at the restoration of the Bourbons. The people of America have their eye upon all that passes here. They have well observed the conduct of our government, and our clergy, as to the massacres of the Protestants in France; and as to the treatment of the Patriots in Spain. They will soon learn, that the French government is at work to restore what was called the property of the church; that the Convents and Churches, which had been purchased by Protestants, and applied to the purposes of Protestant worship, have been taken from them, and that they are, as in the former times of the Bourbons, compelled to worship God in holes and corners. They will also learn, that all Protestant School Masters are put out of employ, and that Catholics supply their place. They will learn, in short, that, while an English, and Cossack, and Prussian, and Austrian army are keeping the Bourbons on the thrones of France, Spain, and Naples, and the Pope in his chair, the persecution of Protestants, in all those countries, and every species of religious intolerance are going on.

These facts will all be well known in America, where the fall of Napoleon will be, every day, more and more lamented, and, of course, where the Cossacks, who put up thanksgivings for that fall, will be more and more despised. It will never do for them to say, that they did not wish for the restoration of the Pope, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition, and that they lament the murder and degradation of the Protestants of France. They did wish for all these, they must have wished for all these, because they did wish for the restoration of the Bourbons, under whom all these had formerly existed. But the Cossacks will, perhaps, say, that they hoped, that the Bourbons would become the patrons of civil and religious liberty.

What reason had they to hope this? They | Bell, one of the Sheriffs, was knighted. regretted the fall of the Bourbons; and It was "a most gracious answer," we are did they not, in that regret, express their approbation of the former government of those Bourbons? They thanked God for the restoration of the Bourbons without any qualification. They thanked God, as we see in Parson Channing's impious trash, that the sceptre of France was " now "wielded again by a benignant sove-" reign, who would heal her wounds." Yes! Her wounds have indeed been healed, if murder and robbery be the means of

Therefore, there is no apology for the conduct of these Cossacks, and their affected lamentation at the sufferings of the French Protestants must, if possible, expose them to additional contempt. The Americans will learn that the City of London have just presented two addresses to the Prince Regent, the object of the first being to congratulate him on the SUC-CESSFUL termination of the war, and that of the second being to beg of him to interfere in behalf of the persecuted Protestants of France. To this latter, "His Royal " Highness was pleased to return the fol-" lowing most gracious answer."-" The " just sense entertained by his Majesty's " subjects, of the value and importance " of religious toleration, is necessarily " calculated to excite in their minds strong " feelings of uneasiness and regret, at any " appearance of it in other nations of the " world. In such feelings, when called " for and justified by the occasion, I shall " ever participate; and whilst I lament "the circumstances which led to your " address, I derive great satisfaction from " the persuasion, that they are in no de-" gree to be attributed to an indisposition " on the part of the government of France, " to afford to the freedom of religious " worship the benefit of its promised " protection and support." And then the citizens kissed his hand, (a) and, Mr.

told; but the Prince as good as told the citizens, that he did not think, that the occasion did not call for, no, nor justify, a participation in their feelings, while he hinted at their having been guilty of injustice in supposing, that the desired Louis, his brother Knight of the Holy Ghost, was at all to blame for what had happened. This, considering the circumstances, was a very gentle rap upon the knuckles; for, if I had been in the Prince's place, I should have said something in this way: "Oh! so, you congratulate me, do you,

motive, my pretty little Dogs do it from motives of real affection; whereas, in this case, contempt was, perhaps, the very best feeling entertained by the kissers towards this great, fat creature, who was bolstered and pillowed up from head to foot, and whom they saw sitting to read a couple of sentences, put into his hands by the cunning hypocrites who stood at his elbow. What an impudent falsehood, to say that the persecution of the Protestants was in no degree to be attributed to the French government! At this very moment, it is notorious, that that government, under the protection of this government, is doing every thing in its power to destroy the liberty of worship in France. It is notorious, that" the Bulwark" stands by with a drawn sword and a bribing purse, while those implacable and infuriated creatures, the Duke and Duchess of Angouleme, are doing little less than organizing a second St. Bartholomew. Is it to tolerate religion to eject all Protestants from being Masters or teachers in public seminaries of learning? But, why reason in support of notorious facts? This answer to the Citizens of London is only another, added to the thousands of instances, in which this government. with mildness and justice on its lips, has committed the most savage and unjust acts. Religion! What does it care about religion! It professes the Protestant religion and the necessity of its ascendency for the purpose of robbing the Catholics of Ireland, and it favours and actually abets the destruction of the Protestants in France, for the purpose of ruining that country, and making a struggle in the cause of freedom, something for Englishmen to dread to attempt.

⁽a) Just as my Spaniels kiss my hand; that is to say, as to the manner; but, as to the

"money and blood of the country. put down Napoleon and restored the "Bourbons; and, in the same breath, you " beseech me to interfere with those Bour-" bons in order to prevent the natural " consequences of the restoration! Your " loyalty and your affection for my Royal " father's person and family become you " well. It is your duty to honour and " obey us, and all that are put in author-"ity under us. Go home, loving sub-" jects; labour in the several states of life " to which it has pleased God to call you; " continue to be loyal and obedient; pay " your taxes cheerfully; but, keep your " advice to yourselves." They might have kissed my hand if they chose, but this is what I would have said to them.

It is not only foolish, but unjust, to find fault with what is going on in France; un less, at the same time, we disapprove of the war and of its object. Those who approved of the war; those who applaud that which they call its "glorious result;" those who approve of the treatment of Na poleon; those who huzzaed the return of the Bourbons: all those have done their utmost to produce what is now going on in France; and, if they affect to lament over the murder of the protestants, and the horrors now committing in Spain, France, and Italy, they are hypocrites; or, they are extremely foolish people. This latter character does not belong to the Cossacks of America, and, therefore, the former

These transactions, in Europe, as I have before observed, appear to have drawn away from the Cossack faction almost every man of honest intentions. What remains of the faction may be considered as implacable enemies of free government. Indeed, the Members of the Hartford Convention, that selection of Cossacks, appear to have fallen into a state of utter contempt even in New-England. Mr. H. G. OTIS, who was a sort of leader of the Cossacks, and who has been, for a great many years, aspiring to be elected Governor of Mas- effect produced by such a cause. The

on my having, by the means of the sachusetts, has, upon the approach of an election for that office, slunk away, and (being a lawyer) taken refuge on the Bench. He is safe there, perhaps, from being displaced, and compelled to earn his bread; but, though Mr. Oris, the Judge, may be safe, Mr. Oris of the Hartford Convention will, as long as be has breath, be the subject of censure, contempt, and ridicule. His friend, GOVERNOR STRONG, (of Massachusetts,) has declined offering himself again. These are sure and certain proofs of the discredit into which the Cossacks have been thrown by their own wicked designs. Mr. DEXTER, whom I remember as a very able lawyer, and who was a stout Federalist, is now the person proposed, by the Republicans, in the State of Massachuseits, to supply the place of Governor Strong. This is, with me, proof enough, that the character of the Federal party is wholly changed; and, that, nearly all who remain attached to it are Cossacks. I told the Ministers, during the war, that the Cossack faction had not the support of the people of Massachusetts to the extent that it appeared to be supposed here. This truth is now evident; for all the eulogists of "the Bulwark" are falling into disgrace.

In the mean while, the Cossacks are becoming, in New-England, more religious than ever. They are, as a correspondent observes, " offering up to God the Devil's leavings." - It is the piety of the malefactor, just as the kind cord is about " to convey him to the bosom of his "Saviour," as the man or, rather the monster, said, who had committed the deliberate and unprovoked murder on his indulgent master and mistress, Mr. Bonner and his wife. But, this pious fit of Go-VERNOR STRONG and his associates comes rather late. It comes after their thanksgivings for the restoration of the old despotisms and persecutions in Europe; and, if religion of their sort improve them, all that I can say is, that it will be the first time that any man ever beheld a similar

religious fit, however, has arisen from the have been successively chosen from the circumstance of a great, and rather sudden, increase of the Unitarians in Massachu-This is by no means a trifling event in the history of the progress of the human mind. Calvin has had almost exclusive possession of New-England ever since the first settlement. Priestly appears to be giving the old burner of Servetus a blow, such as he never before received. It will be a curious thing, if, at last, the Devil's horns, and his tail, and his imps, and his brimstone, should be laughed at in New-England, the country, above all others in the world, where they were most firmly believed in, except, indeed, those countries that have been buried in brutal superstition, under the sway of despots and monks. To give up the Devil seems a hard thing, after having so long believed in him. My friend, Mr. FORDHAM, will remember with what zeal I resented an attack on the old gentleman's authority, and he will conclude, of course, that I am now on the side of Governor Strong and the Cossacks, seeing that they are for the Devil. But, I beg Mr. Fordham's pardon. Though I certainly did call the Devil the "sheet anchor," I am not bound to stick even to him in such company as the New-England Cossacks.

It is supposed that the New-England part of the United States will, in general, choose Republican Governors and Members of Congress; in which case the cause of the Cossacks is completely done for. It is also expected that Mr. MONROE, or Mr. Adams, (who is now the American minister in England,) will be chosen President for the next four years. The election is held next autumn, and the new President enters on his office in the ensuing spring. If Mr. MUNROE should be elected, four Presidents out of the five. who will be then have been chosen, will have been Virginians: WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, MADISON, and MONROE; Mr. Adams having been the only President chosen out of any other state. This has

state of Virginia happened to be the men of the greatest estimation in the country. Yet this circumstance has been made a great handle of by the Cossacks who have endeavoured, and, for a while, not wholly without success, to persuade the people of New England that Virginia was making a monopoly of the office of President. But, what a stupid thing it would be to make a law to prevent the same state from giving a president twice running, which, however, was actually proposed by the sages of the Hartford Convention! Just as if the people should consent to a law to restrain. them in their own choice! The President is the chief magistrate of the whole union. and, of course, the people ought to preserve the right of looking through the whole union for a man to fill that important office. What! because a fit man was found in a particular spot last time, is the same spot to be prohibited this time? The Hartford Convention sent round their propositions to the Legislatures of the several states, in order to obtain their concurrence. The answers of the Legislatures of the state of Pennsylvania and that of the state of New-York were admirable, the latter for its spirited tone of indignant rejection, and the former for close and powerful reasoning, in language the most dignified, and, at the same time, the most cutting. With the exception of the poems of Pope, Inever read any thing, of which I should so much like to have been the author, as this answer of the state of Pennsylvania. Let any man read this paper, penned in one of the state legislatures of America: and, when he has compared it with the state papers of our ambassadors and ministers, let him say whether Aristocracy has reserved to itself a monopoly of talent. I cannot help thinking how the Cossacks of the Hartford Convention must have hung their heads, while the answer of Pennsylvania was reading to them. A sword, run into the tenderest part of the body, would have been less painful to been purely accidental. The men who men of any sense of honour.

Mr. Monnor and Mr. Adams, (the Minister in England,) who is the son of Mr ADAMS the former President, are both firm friends of truly Republican principles. It is of little consequence to the cause of freedom which of the two is elected; and, it is of little importance, perhaps, to themselves. For, as to pecuniary gain, there can be none; and, as to power and patronage, they are worth the possession of neither in any other light than as the means of doing good to their country. What a fine thing is it to see two men, Mr. Adams and Mr. JEFFERson, now living in common life, after having been the chief Magistrates of a great country, which has a population and a trade nearly equal to those of England! Before they were Presidents, the former lived on his estate in Massachusetts, and the latter on his estate in Virginia. To those estates, unaugmented, they have returned to spend the remainder of their lives. Was there ever any thing so honourable to the human mind as this sight? And, can we view it, without feeling indignation unutterable against the hired writers who have the audacity to say, that the order and happiness of society demands the subjection of the many to the will of the few? In about twelve months Mr. Madison, whom our writers threatened to depose; whose deposition they insisted upon as a sine qua non of peace with America, will have finished his second Presidentship, and will have also retired from public life, after having seen his country restored to honourable peace, at the end of a most arduous struggle for the preservation of its rights and its freedom.

How it relieves one to turn one's eyes towards this scene, after having had them, for a while, fixed on those scenes of human degradation which surround us in Europe! And how anxious ought we to be, that America may go on, under such a government, to grow in prosperity and in power! Power in such hands can never do harm, and may do infinite service to the whole

of the civilized world. It is of vast importance, that we, the people of England, see this matter in its true light. What is there which ought to prevent us from living on terms of harmony and friendship with America? There is nothing but the base passions, and private interest of the basest and most sordid of mankind. I know, that there is another description of men, very worthy men, who look at America with constant Jealousy, as a country that may, one day or other, rival England on the sea; at the bare thought of which they sicken. But, is there any sound sense in this? If we are fond of Naval Glory, how are we to have it, unless there be somebody with a navy equal to our own? Who admires the Kite on account of his being able to keep the Linnets and Goldfinches in awe? The feeling of anxiety about distant danger to the power and fame of England is very laudable, though it be unfounded. But, it is an error which may lead to great evils on ourselves as well as on others. We have really put back the naval power of all Europe for an age. And, what have we got by it, but the most shocking misery at home. Besides, there is no ground for the fear. England must always be a great nation. may be reduced very low by her government; but, by one means or another, she will revive. Why, then, should we look with envy and jealousy at the rising power of a country so far from us, and so naturally, for a thousand reasons, prone to de us good instead of harm? The ties of language, of manners, of common ancestry, of similarity of common law, and of forms of legal proceedings, of literary intercourse, are alone, without the connexions of trade, more than a match for all the advantages, and all the professions, and all the acts of friendship that all the other nations in the world can offer to either of the parties, and particularly to America, where there are thousands and hundreds of thousands of men, who hate our government as they hate the rattlesnake, and who think they hate the English nation;

cover a partiality for every thing English, without at all suspecting it themselves. This must be so, until human nature be changed, and that is a thing not so easily done as to make war or peace.

However, if, in spite of the dictates of reason and justice, there be still persons in England to wish that America may be kept in a state so defenceless, as to be unable to defend herself against any act of hostility on the part of our government; if this be still your wish, my dear John Bull, learn, for your punishment, that your wish will not be gratified. That fleet, which a saucy upstart called " half " a dozen fir frigates, with some bits of " striped bunting at their mast heads," is becoming a fine Navy; and, the Americans, so far from being divided upon this subject, dispute with each other the honour of having been the founders of this branch of their country's defence. The people of Boston quit their meetinghouses, and cover the tops of their hills to see their own great ships bearing into their own harbour. The scenes of their seafights of the last war, form the subject of the pictures that decorate the dwellings of the farmer, and even of the labourer. Mr. Curwen very wisely observed, the other night, that it would be good policy to abandon Canada; to declare it independent, and leave it to itself. And, really, what can it be kept for, except as the means of kindling war, and of enjoying patronage? Be this as it may, we may be well assured, that, on the Lakes, we never shall again be masters. We have no business there at all; but, if we insist upon keeping Canada, it must, in case of another war, cost us a couple of hundreds of millions; and, for no earthly reason, that I can possibly discover, other than those of war and patronage.

It was fully believed, in England, and by ninety-nine hundredths of the people, that, during the last war, all the battles ended in our favour. They did, indeed, hear of a frigate or two being taken by

but who really, if narrowly watched, dis- | the Americans; but, then, they thought it was by a 74 gun ship that one of our They believed frigates was subdued. that the Americans were always beaten by land; that they were cowards, who ran away like so many sheep; that, at New-Orleans, in particular, we made mince meat of them; and, why not believe this, when they saw, that a monument was voted in honour of Pakenham, who commanded the land part of the expedition against New-Orleans? Besides, it was positively stated, in our newspapers, that we did gain the victory; and, though the contrary, at last, sneaked out in the Official Gazette, it was put on the backside of the newspapers, as much out of sight as possible. The Americans can hardly believe, that a people like the English can have been kept in such darkness. But, in a series of numbers, which they have read, I hope, by this time, I have fully explained to them how this deception and hoodwinking is carried on.

> But, John Bull, the point upon which you were the most grossly and most fatally deceived, was the grounds of the late war with America. You were made to believe, that the President of America had, underhanded, made a league with Napoleon for the purpose of conquering Eng-An impudent Attorney, a notoriously wholesale dealer in bribery and corruption, said, one day, in the hearing of several persons, that America, like an assassin, attacked in the dark. (b) False

⁽b) This was said, in the debate on the address, at the opening of the Parliament in 1814, by that famous dealer in seats, Sir JAMES GRAHAM. This man was first the Attorney and Steward of Lord Lonsdale, upon one of his estates. By degrees he became, on account of his expertness and want of moral feeling, the agent general of that Boroughmonger, who has nine seats in the House of At length, the Attorney and Commons. Agent bought a seat or two of his own, and now backs his patron in Parliament. Having become an owner of a seat, he demanded to be made a Baronet. And thus do men rise to

and foolish as this was, it was the pre- in the next American Packet, tell you vailing opinion. I will, therefore, John,

be Nobles. Lonsdale was a Baronet, 'til, by the weight of his votes, he demanded to be made a Baron, then a Viscount, then an Earl, and then a "Knight of the most Noble Order " of the Garter." Here, ye Cossacks, you may behold the source of Nobility! These are the "institutions," held in such "veneration" by you, and by the foolish people who listen to you. This is Nobility, and, will any man of any character stand up and say, that a set of men like this ought to be permitted to take the earnings of a people and apply them to their own use? This Sir James Graham; this dirty dealer in corruption; this unprincipled Attorney it was, who, on the occasion referred to, asserted, that America had, "assassin-" like, attacked us in the dark;" and not one word was said in contradiction of so false and impudent an assertion. This man has extorted some good things from the Ministry, by the weight, not of his talents, but his vote, which is his own, he being the owner of the seat that he fills. It is manifestly the interest of such a man to decry your government. Your government is a living libel upon that thing which gives him title and wealth, which has made him a Baronet, and which will, if it twenty really honourable men out of the thoustand many years, make him a Lord. Yes, sand.

the real truth of this story once more. It is right that you should know it, and that you should be guarded against another quarrel and war; for, you may be assured. that, if you persist in your bostility against America, you will get more and more disgrace. The Americans do not want to quarrel with us. They wish to live upon friendly terms with us. They know how to discriminate between a people and ******** But, if we will insist upon it. that the Americans shall be kept down, we shall bring upon ourselves chastisement, even more severe than that which we now

> I am, my dear John Bull, Your friend,

> > WM. COBBETT.

it is not at all improbable, that this vile jobber may in a few years, be saluted by the appellation of " Noble Peer," as ELLENBO-ROUGH now is. It is my real belief, that, in the whole world, there is not so dishonourable a set of men to be found, as the set who fill the two houses. There are not more than

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